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February, 1935

VOLUME FIFTEEN NUMBER FIVE

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JUSTICE • BROTHERHOOD • PEACE

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

THE aim of WORLD UNITY is to promote the *"application of the principle of federalism"* underlying the American government *"to the relationships now existing between the peoples and nations of the world."*

This eventual world order is upheld as the only firm basis for international peace, and the sole instrumentality through which mankind can solve its economic and other vital social problems.

In its pursuit of the goal of world order, the magazine will endeavor to constitute a medium for discussion of fundamental aspects of the current movement of thought from the old era to the new, and to provide a meeting place for those who stand above the competitions of race, class and creed.

World Unity
119 Waverly Place

Horace Holley, Editor
New York

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RELIGION AND WORLD ORDER

by

HORACE HOLLEY

VII. RIVERS RUN DOWNHILL

IN established communities, under ordinary conditions, individual consciousness is for the most part a mere reflection of the general social mores. The weight of custom, of public opinion, of long-fixed assumptions, supplies the norm to which the individual instinctively conforms in feeling, in action and in thought. The fulfilment of personality tends to consist in successful adjustment to a standard seldom analyzed because it has for so long been taken for granted throughout the environment.

But when conditions become extra-ordinary, to such an extent that adjustment to the standard no longer produces the anticipated result, a reserve power is called forth in individuals which eventually so troubles the customary passive awareness that the community is compelled to choose between unsuccessful conformity and the establishment of an entirely new and different social norm. While many people under such circumstances prefer personal failure and unhappiness to the repudiation of the traditional standard, and like faithful sailors will sink with the ship, the organic demands of life for true fulfilment cannot be satisfied by this self-immolation, and sooner or later more energetic personalities arise who feel that the Sabbath of convention is made for man and not man for the Sabbath. They assert the view that standards of truth and of conduct, like a ship, are intended to transport people to the desired harbor, and not to serve as a tomb revealing that the journey has come to a final and tragic end.

The prevailing standard thus eventually loses its sacred character, and once directly attacked is found to be not universal and instinctive, as once assumed, but of obviously definite historical origin and development—a temporary hostel or camp ground, and not the eternal Temple of unalterable Truth.

If the extra-ordinary condition is essentially social—economic or political—in character, the restless intelligence goes back over the history of the society until it finds some heroic figure or some fundamental principle which can serve as rallying-point for all efforts to establish a more workable and satisfying mode of life. A nation in dire trouble makes the psychological pilgrimage back to the shrine of its founder, invokes his influence and example, and selects all the materials necessary for the creation of a new social consciousness. If the effort surmounts and removes the trouble, then once more the reserve of energy sinks back into the unconscious, and life is resumed under the new standard with the same passivity that had previously prevailed.

There are, however, crises and problems which the civil tradition is inadequate to encounter or even explain. In the international troubles lying so heavily upon the world today, the appeal to national heroes seems grotesque to all whose civil pantheons contain other, and competitive, gods. Even though national unity and social justice within the domestic area is vital to the eventual solution of the world crisis, no degree of internal readjustment on the part of the nations separately can serve as substitute for that international justice and order the lack of which produces fundamental disorder within every civilized nation. One might as well say that the citizens of one city only need government when they are agitated and in conflict, and when each citizen is calm and peaceful, the whole range of their mutual relations can be instinctively maintained.

The inability of any powerful and highly developed national community to solve a world problem by its own supreme sovereignty is not merely an extra-ordinary condition: in all recorded history, the condition is actually unique. What is unique, of course, is the fact that the social problem is a *world* problem. Hence it is

that absolute sovereignty, the source of all domestic order and progress, now represents not a plenitude of power but a fatal weakness, since a similar sovereignty is exerted by every other national state. Meanwhile, the world problem intensifies by the very absence of institutions having world scope, world view and world jurisdiction.

Under such circumstances it is inevitable that the more thoughtful should extend their appeal beyond the limits of national history to find reinforcement in supra-national authority. They turn back not to the founder of their nation but to the founder of their faith. To satisfy their need of a reality not only superior to the reality of human legislation but wholly external to it, they find hope, confidence and justification in the life and teachings of the Prophet by whom their entire civilization was originally inspired.

Never has there been such a time of sincere, whole-hearted searching for a foundation grounded not upon secondary, temporary historical events and developments but upon the nature of the universe itself. This age, in its spirit, feels nearer to the ancient Prophets than has any generation since the first generation of believers laid down their lives that the divine Cause might prevail. Not in Christendom alone, but in the other existing civilizations, the appeal to the pure manifestation of love and wisdom, the racial Prophet, has become for many the last refuge of hope that human life can endure, can be meaningful and blessed upon this troubled earth.

Between themselves and that radiant Source of hope they feel the long centuries of strife and ignorance fading to the unreality of a frantic dream. Let mankind, they cry from the depths of their souls, let mankind make a new beginning; let life rest upon the sure foundation of the Divine will; let us become transformed, renewed with a new spirit, and in that spirit proceed to transform all things which are in denial of or in conflict with that eternal will. The nations hurry to destruction, they lament, when vision perishes. From this undying flame let our hearts and minds be kindled with the fire of love.

As the crisis persists, this call, feeble at first becomes louder and more assured. First a personal attitude, then a social move-

ment, gathering force and momentum, the going back to the Prophet now represents a mighty psychological crusade paralleling the physical crusades of medieval times.

To what degree can this movement be fulfilled?

The Prophet himself made a fundamental condition, that those who sought to follow him should abandon their goods, their wealth, and walk in his path. This was said to a rich man's son, but does it not apply likewise to those who have inherited goods and wealth in the realm of mind? Does it not mean that those who seek to return today must abandon their acquired culture, their traditional philosophy, their ecclesiastical institutions, their rites and ceremonies, their pomp of church and churchly power? Either it means this, or it means nothing at all, for the Prophet was not slain by the materially rich of his day, he was slain by order of the established church.

For Christendom, surely, the sincerity of all effort to establish life upon Divine rather than upon human will must be tested by conformity to the conditions its own Prophet laid down. When the churches voluntarily disband, and people of all denominations and sects seek the Prophet upon absolutely equal terms, then, and then alone, will this psychological crusade reach the Holy Land. As long as certain individual believers alone fulfil this test, the movement will not affect the vital problems of civilization but remain in the limited realm of personal experience. It may produce a beautiful literature; it will not carry civilization outside its captivity to the lords of war.

There is also, it would appear, another essential condition to be met in this poignant appeal from the world to God: the recognition that other races likewise had their Prophets, their revelations of the Divine will. For without such recognition, the crusade goes hostile and armed, a challenge to battle and not a conquest of universal peace. These two conditions—at root one condition seen in two different aspects—may fairly be said to be so difficult of realization as to be highly improbable, if not impossible, at least without one single precedent in human history. Rivers flow downhill; and the water once descended from its spring does not return.

ETHICS OF THE NEW ERA

by

GIOVANNI BALDAZZI

Author of "Orrizzonti della Latinita," etc.

WE are living in a troubled, agitated and unsettled epoch, full of antagonisms, overridden by ever reviving conflicts and ever-changing conditions, deprived of spiritual unity as well as of political and economic stability. The collapse of Divine and human faith, brought about by the mechanical structure of modern society, and by a general materialistic outlook of life, has made itself more bitterly felt, since the outbreak of the World War, with the appalling destruction of human lives, and the endless succession of revolutions, discontentment and depression that have followed.

What is the cause of all these evils? There is no need of more than a superficial observation to perceive that this is due to a weakening of the spiritual energies of man, and also to the fact that the psychological and social evolution of mankind has not kept pace, so far, with the splendid achievements reached in the field of knowledge, science, technique and in the domain of mechanical progress.

During the second half of the last century, the conditions of existence of men and the aspect of the world, have undergone a great transformation, which has found its most impressive expression in huge factories and industries, in the spreading of an immense network of railroads throughout the continents, in the ever-increasing dynamic power of motors, in the marvels of the radio, aviation, ultra-fast steamships and in the increase of trade and intellectual intercourse between the various countries. But the industrial revolution to which we owe this wonderful expansion of the mechanical aspect of civilization—the substitution of machinery

for physical labor and the improvement of communications to an unprecedended extent—appears still to be incomplete and defective in its achievements, because it has established an unbalanced social order, whereby the burden of material forces hinders the expansion and renovation of the inner life of men.

The fact that the malady of our epoch lies in the psychological world does not mean that we should withdraw ourselves from the conditions of our time, and despise its technical and industrial attainments or renounce its social comforts and economic welfare. Not even would it be admissible to revert to the medieval conception of mysticism, when man's perfection was supposed to consist in the detachment from the outer world, in the rising above terrestrial reality, and in the merging of individuality in trancendental contemplation. In no case would we be willing to give up our share of the work for the building up of a better world, or much less to deprive ourselves of the hygienic and social improvements, of the freedom of thought, of the conquests of culture, of the enjoyment of art and beauty, for the sake of reverting to that lethargy of the rational faculties, to that darkness of the human mind, of which there remains nowaday nothing but a sad remembrance of far away ages!

Therefore, the question is not whether we may find our salvation in giving up the benefit of material progress, for an exclusive development of spirituality. The need of the present age is rather to find out an harmonious integration between these two elements, by reconciling the exigencies of an active participation in the life of the commonwealth, with the uplifting of the inner personality.

Thus, the chief problem of the day is to fill the void that utilitarian and materialistic tendencies have left in our souls, so that the organizing genius and the astounding triumphs of modern dynamism may be irradiated by the flashes of spiritual enlightenment, and embellished by the noble aspirations and the perfection of a redeemed humanity. Disgusted by the prevailing materialism, which is threatening to drain the sources of intelligence and virtue, the new generations feel an irresistible yearning toward the conquest of the inner liberty, in an attempt to raise themselves, on the

wings of the spirit, to a sphere of supreme beauty, harmony and serenity.

After a century filled with scientific discoveries, and marked by the continuous improvement of knowledge and intellectual faculties, even the inviolate thresholds of supreme perfection are no longer out of reach for the World-defying Man, who still longs for a victorious assertion of his superior essence. Beyond the arduous march across centuries of darkness and terror, and above the struggle for the domination of land, sea and skies, He set himself to spread out the wings toward the terminal goal, which was already preannounced by Luminaries and Prophets, as a prize for his indomitable hardihood, disdainful of dangers and ready for holocaust.

The ascent toward the highest ethereal summits of the spirit, as well as the most fascinating aspirations can become a certainty, after so many proofs of the illimitable and almost infinite power of modern man.

The competition between individuals, groups, classes, nations and human races is the greatest obstacle to the triumph of the law of peace and solidarity in the world. This competition exerts a corrupting influence on the individuals, embitters their mutual relations, and condemns society as a whole to the meanness of misery, immorality and servility, so as to thwart the stupendous possibilities of progress, offered by the spreading of culture and by the application of scientific discoveries to practical life.

However, there actually are and have existed in the past, numerous movements with the object of suppressing this competition, of bringing peace among men, and establish a link of solidarity above the national frontiers. We may mention in this connection various socialist schools headed by Lasalle, Proudhon, Marx and Lenin, which at times were successful in arousing the sympathy of the working masses, and in making them believe in the imminence of a universal millennium. Why is the actual reality, especially after the much discussed experiment of Soviet Russia, now so far from the original expectation?

No one can deny that the cause of this failure lies in the dif-

fused materialism, which has strangled the vital impulse of the socialist movements, as well as in the absence of a spiritual "myth", and, finally, in the fatal error made by the agitators and leaders, to direct all efforts toward the conquest of material power, while leaving education in the background.

In spite of the materialistic conception of history, which has been prevalent for so long time in the radical world, we must recognize that even in the field of material organization of society, i. e., in industry, agriculture, trade and technique, nothing sound and durable can be brought into being without some standard or code of ethics. As a matter of fact, a plan for the reconstruction of the social fabric, such as it is embodied in the socialist doctrines, bears directly upon the most varied aspects of human life, both collective and individual, from the social and political institutions, to the entire system of economic organization and intercourse; from the emotions and ideals which find expression in the artistic activity, to the creation of original values in literature, philosophy and science. However, if a social and political plan of such a radical character is to come into practical reality, and acquire some degree of organic perfection, it must be founded on a complex of definite ethical principles.

If we ask ourselves why Soviet Revolution and other alleged revolutionary experiments, carried out during the last decade in a few European countries, are generally considered with scepticism by all enlightened people, it will be easily found that this feeling of indifference and distrust is aroused by the perception of a lack of higher ethical principles in the working of the systems of dictatorship, that have been the outcome of the political upheavals to which we have alluded above.

In opposition to these materialistic doctrines, we hold that a revolution exempted from the seeds of delusion and decay, and capable of modifying something more than the exterior aspect of the existing order, must strive to bring about not merely social and political reforms, but also spiritual changes. Force is impotent to promote the progress of the general organization of society, when it is not inspired by an ideal. Every genuine reformation of the

laws and social institutions, of the forms of government and of the mutual relations of men, must rest upon the enfoldment of the collective consciousness, enlightened by a deeper sense of righteousness and human brotherhood. It is a great mistake to think that the empirical devices of politics: pressure, compulsion and forcible seizure of power, revolutions, "coups d'Etat", bureaucracy, suffrage and decrees might prove capable of clearing the ground of corruption, or of mastering the subversive forces and effecting a reconciliation among the competing interests and the discordant trends and passions that are clashing in the very heart of such a vast and complex community as ours.

If we wish to bring a real contribution to the building up of the higher order of tomorrow, we must give up the blind belief in the contingent interests of class struggle and in the material side of politics, which were the cause of the failure of the radical movements, and realize that for the accomplishment of our great mission, there are other considerations to be taken into account, besides the economical and political ones. To be sure, the best manner to serve our Cause is the formation of a new International Mind, permeated by idealism and ennobled by intellectuality. In spite of the discomfitures suffered in the past, there would be still for us the danger of being kept away from the attainment of our goal, unless we seek to raise ourselves to a higher stature, by virtue of an unshaken faith, a conscious discipline, a new standard of morality, an heroic sense of life and a mystic devotion to the ideal we are fighting for. There is nothing which we need more now than to strive for a superior spirituality. Spirit is the Liberator!

This criticism concerning a few aspects of the old international political parties, might be applied to a large extent also to the more recent attempt at establishing a universal cooperation among States, such as the League of Nations, as well as to the various pacifist movements, the activity of which is more or less connected with the great Geneva Institution. Certainly, we appreciate the efforts made during the last few years, with the object of reaching a clearer determination of the idea of the League of Nations, both from the theoretical and practical standpoint. Likewise, we have no hesita-

tion to express our agreement with the contention that a reorganization of the League is desirable along the lines of a Federation of Nations, by conferring on it a function of compulsory arbitration for all disputes arising among the various States, and by providing it with a military or police force, for the purpose of enforcing the rules of international right and order in every war emergency. Let us point out that these plans of reformation are valuable, inasmuch as we can gain from them an insight into the inadequacies of our present system of international organization, but they give only a part of the truth, or, to use a sentence by Professor A. Einstein, they deal only with *the superficial aspect of the problem,* in so far as they fail to disarm the psychological and ethical implications of the ideal of the League of Nations. The error, or rather the misunderstanding made by the majority of the sponsors of these reforms, is to overlook the fact that an International Tribunal and a Police Force are conceivable only as a part and parcel of a far-reaching development of the League as a whole, and that this presupposes a wide and profound change in the minds of men, which ought to find expression in a common education and in an idealistic outlook of life. We are living in an old world in decomposition, which must be reconstructed entirely anew. The various attempts made in this direction, have shown themselves ineffectual, because they came short of an essential element, that is, an ethics capable of helping humanity in the fulfilment of its desire of deliverance and of its longing for justice, beauty and harmony.

In a remarkable open letter to Dr. Freud, Professor A. Einstein has given an impressive account of the failure suffered by the League of Nations, during the last years, in its efforts to stem the ever growing tide of nationalistic sentiment, which like a mine, is always threatening to explode and light the flames of war. The author shows himself to be especially impressed by the psychological side of the question, when he writes: "The ill-success, despite their obvious sincerity, of all the efforts made during the last decade to reach this goal, leaves no room to doubt that strong psychological factors are at work, which paralyse these efforts." Now, we are convinced that the reason why the League of Nations has proved

unable to attain the great results that were expected from it, lies in the fact that its sponsors did not dare to look beyond the limited horizon of their contingent duties (*i.e.*, bureaucratic and administrative) and failed to perceive the higher hopes they were called to fulfill[1]. Against these prosaic and inadequate conceptions, it is imperative to assert the magnitude of the task inherent in the psychological preparation of the New Society, which calls for the unfoldment of moral courage, of superior standards of intellect and virtue, and also for the demonstration of the universal principles, on which the future life of the nations and their mutual intercourse are to stand and to evolve.

Considering these disappointing experiences, all serious workers for the great Cause should listen to this appeal to action, and realize that a revival of the international movement cannot take place, unless the lethargic methods of the past are rejected, and yield to the hard practice of responsibility, energy, discipline and creative effort.

Since the end of the war we have witnessed a progressive disintegration of human society in all aspects: moral, social, economic and political, aggravated by the absence of reconstructive principles. The parliamentary system and the so called liberal institutions, which during the second half of the nineteenth century up to the close of the Great War had become predominant in western countries, are by this time falling short of their former vitality and creative power. It appears evident that unless democracy undergoes a radical change, it will succumb to the present crisis, on account of its inability to secure a normal working of society. This failure has a political and a spiritual aspect. There is in the democracies of today a congenital deficiency of moral stamina, a falling short of the spirit of devotion, a lack of the impulse of love, solidarity and justice, which makes them hopelessly incapable of standing against the corrupting tendencies of the environment, and to be qualified for the task of preserving and perfecting the moral unity of the national life. In the political sphere this situation is no less precarious, owing to the difficulty of administering and governing the State, in face of the bitter antagonisms of parties and

1—WHY WAR? "Open Letters" between EINSTEIN & FREUD. The New Commonwealth, Mowbray House, Norfolk St., London, WC2., 1934.

classes. To perform efficiently a duty like this, would demand from democracies a strong political discipline, which up to the present have proved to be alien to the democratic frame of mind.

As it was to be expected, out of this crisis there have arisen new political doctrines and systems of government, such as the State Communism in Soviet Russia, and the various nationalistic dictatorships of states like Germany, Austria, and other European countries. If we are to believe the claim of their supporters these regimes are able to build up a more harmonious and stable unity of the life of nations, not only by using the old dictatorial expedient of strengthening the political power of the State, but also by eliminating all kind of class struggle. Of course, Communist and Nationalistic Governments seek to attain this end by quite different means. Soviet Russia has resorted to the abolition of the right of private property, and to the suppression of all classes, except the proletariat. The purpose of the other dictatorial systems before mentioned, is rather to have the various classes dispossessed of every possibility of autonomous action and free organization, so as to make them mere tools in the hand of the allpowerful authority of the State. It is claimed in some quarters that the enslavement of individuals, that this system involves, finds a compensation in the establishment of a perfect harmony among the classes. In reality, the result of this kind of compulsory arbitration by the State, is to some extent comparable to the regime of the Indian castes, inasmuch as it affords no opportunity for correcting existing inequalities, and it is bound, by the force of things, to increase the privileges (prosperity, power, honors, luxuries, social advantages, etc.) of a favored minority, while bringing more subjection and destitution to the toiling masses. This teaches us that when State interference is carried to an extreme, all roads to economic justice are obstructed.

Whatever the opinion of their supporters may be, these methods are too empirical and gross, to assume that they can ever make good their pretension to a universal expansion and acceptance, as if they were an embodiment of the aspirations and needs of our epoch. We discard such an assumption, because to believe

in it, would mean to have lost faith in the march of humanity along the roads of liberty and enlightenment.

It is not to be denied that in a few cases these dictatorships have been or may actually be useful, and that they have exerted a stabilizing influence, especially in the countries more seriously struck by the crisis, either by mastering the forces of disorder and rebellion, or by reacting to the degeneracy of parliamentarism. Nevertheless, it would be unwise to credit them with being anything more than political regimes of a transition period, viz.: exceptional Governments for unusual situations. The unity that they impart to the national society is a mere outward appearance; it is not a free spiritual bond fastened by equal privileges and by a common conception of civic duties; it is a dogma, a stern commandment, a heavy chain of the State; it is an artificial cohesion founded on coercion.

The most advanced nations will never agree to a unity of this kind, lowering human dignity. What they want is a reform of the State radical enough to remove the actual condition of insecurity and instablity, although preserving the divine ferment of individual liberty and perfection; that is, a rational political order capable of establishing a social relationship enlivened by a general spirit of solidarity, whereby all efforts may be united on behalf of the common welfare, while affording at the same time new opportunities for the assertion of the creative power of individuals.

The preliminary condition for a political reform to endure and to expand into the future, is to find a reconciliation of the authority of the State, with the liberty of the citizen.

There are certain principles, rooted in the moral nature of man, without which the social order is deprived of basis for a normal functioning and a durable existence. By their materialism, both the democratic and dictatorial regimes have outraged these principles. The dissatisfaction, the profound weariness of the nations, their internal and external divisions and the instability of governments, are a logical consequence of the lack of a political ethics. Hence the more beneficial work on behalf of the international order would be, indeed, to reassert the rights of Spirituality, not merely

in private life, but also in the domain of politics. What we need, in the first place, is a renovation of the art of government, in line with the elementary dictates of reason and justice. This implies a plan very simple in its conception, but far-reaching in its application. On the negative side it requires freeing the practice of government from the degrading influence of demagogical habits and from the humiliation of despotic violence, whilst, on the positive side, it implies a more exalted conception of the responsibilities and duties bestowed on those, to whom belong the sacred task of governing men. The latter have to be brought to a recognition of the spiritual foundations of society, so that they may submit themselves to the discipline of effort and magnanimous suffering, and be enabled to attain elevation of heart and intellect, wisdom, tolerance and zeal for public wellbeing. Because the political order would be doomed to ruin, whenever those who represent the great moral personality of the State are falling short in the requirements of their office, it is needed to arouse and strengthen the best tendencies that are in them, by means of a proper education and of a clear consciousness of the amplitude of their mission.

The ideals of love, solidarity and brotherhood, which the old radical parties used to profess in a vain demagogical form, must acquire a deeper significance and be interpreted with the greatest sincerity and passion, so that they may develop in the men and women of our generation all latent possibilities and give them access to a superior ethical atmosphere, towards the sublime. Only by such political regeneration would it be possible to check the tide of despotism, which is threatening the very existence of democratic institutions, and to lead the political evolution towards the realization of what we may call a form of "Humanitarian State", countersigned by a progressive elimination of compulsion, as well as by the voluntary submission of personal interests to common welfare and the development of all activities founded on the free cooperation and conscious discipline of the citizens. The most imperative demand of the present day is the leavening of the life of the State, with an ideal of righteousness and perfection, so as to cancel the impulses of oppression and greed, that are still surviving from the

barbarian ages.

The high psychological and humane significance of this ideal of the State, conceived as a family of free men, has been for long past perceived by a few great spirits fired by the flash of genius, such as Dante and Bacon. As to the first it will suffice to recall the conception of the limitation of the political power, to which he gave a masterly expression in these words: *Imperio licitum non est contra jus humanum aliquid facere.* Of the second we may quote the celebrated sentence: *Homo Homini Deus,* which conveys a marvelous anticipation of the law of justice for which we are struggling today.

Quite to the contrary of what certain superficial people may think about it, this idealistic vision of government is susceptible of the widest and most useful applications in all walks of life. In fact, it is liable to exert a refining influence on the habits, customs and education, as well as to render the intercourse among men more mutually trustworthy, loyal and magnanimous, and to provide means for perfecting the organization of the whole society.

To say that the authority of the State has to rest upon the force of superior principles; that to govern must mean to find satisfaction in self-devotion and service, and that those who hold the helm of the State ought to be the clearest and purest, is to proclaim a truth capable of improving conditions not merely in the domain of politics, but also in the whole realm of social and economic institutions: family, factory, schools, associations, as well as in the intercourse between such large units as classes, nations and races.

Social progress does not express itself in the dogma of absolute equality, and in the disappearance of the spirit of leadership. Not to say that this would bring about the triumph of a materialistic mediocrity, it is out of the question that leaders, with the greater or less social distinction that this name implies, are an indispensable element in every organized and civilized society. As a consequence, the problem of political reformation is to soften all social differentiations, by instilling in those who govern a great spirit of service, and ennobling them through the most strenuous aptitudes of the spirit: integrity, courage and self-sacrifice.

We have given only a concise outline of what we conceive to be the ethics of the New Era, that is shaping itself throughout the spiritual toil of the twentieth century, and which makes prelude to the realization of a still remote, but unfailing stage of superhuman psyche, to which the modern man is attracted as towards its supreme appointed end. But in spite of the terseness of this essay, we hope to have been successful in setting forth a clear and constructive idea, viz: that in face of the threatening advance of nationalism, that has been taken place for a few years back, we must undertake a renovation of our international movement, and heal its weakness, which can be done only by enlivening it with the fire of a superior Spirituality. If we want to avoid the ultimate downfall of democracy, we have to recognize in all sincerity its faults and shortcomings, and to apply ourselves to the work of its regeneration, by bringing it closer to the consciousness of the responsibility connected with its great and inspiring task.

THE CRUSADES VIEWED THROUGH EASTERN EYES

A Study in Oriental-Occidental Relations

by

JOHN W. KITCHING
Author of "This Praying World," etc.

(Continued)

III THE PEASANTS' CRUSADE

THERE came about an utterly unlooked for and unexpected effect produced by this speech of Pope Urban and that was the rising of mobs of thousands and mayhap tens of thousands of peasants who immediately broke away from the soil and the glebe to which they were bound. They shook off their manorial obligations and quitted their homes for the road of the cross. In a word, the crusted surface of feudal society broke under this pressure from below.

Urban II had designated that the armies of the First Crusade should be composed wholly of the armed chivalry of Europe. He never even gave a thought as to what might be the attitude of the lower classes towards such a movement as he was advocating.

He sent out ordained and authorized preachers to preach the Crusade to the knighthood of Europe, but these were supplemented by a host of self-constituted, ignorant and passionate soap-box orators, like the notorious Peter the Hermit.

These men traveled about everywhere through the lands. They harangued the peasantry in the market places and at the cross roads. The result was the spontaneous apparition of the peasantry in many regions especially in Flanders and the Rhinelands, who had hitherto stolidly accepted the lot of serfdom, leaving everything and blindly embarking upon the Crusade.

GUIBERT DE NOGENT'S DESCRIPTION

Guibert de Nogent has left a vivid description of these wretched and infatuated way-farers who formed the personel of the so-called "Peasants' Crusade".

"Nothing was more touching", he wrote, "than to see these poor people using their cattle like horses dragging along the roads in two-wheeled peasant carts, upon which they had piled their sorry belongings and their little children. At every castle, and at every town which they passed, the children stretched out their hands and asked if it were not Jerusalem."

We are told of peasants wandering aimlessly in search of the Holy Land with no other guide than a tethered goat or goose to lead them, these being the sacred animals of Teutonic mythology.

The hosts which followed Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless raided the farms and villages along the road. None of these peasant armies reached Jerusalem. Privation, disease, strife decimated the hosts before they arrived in Constantinople. Most of the remnant of the wretched hordes perished from Turkish attack and starvation in Asia Minor.

All this serves to illustrate the strange psychological fact how great numbers of humanity may be simultaneously seized with aberration or mania, under the pressure of intense emotional stimuli.

Rabble Bands of Crusaders

Besides the occurrences described above there were the Rabble Bands of Crusaders. The lack of unity and organization in the First Crusade gave many persons an opportunity to plunder and rob and commit all kinds of violence under the cloak of religion. Because they had taken the cross they pretended that they were privileged and might do as they pleased. They attempted to live at the expense of others. Their villainous conduct led many devout persons to criticize the crusading movement very sharply.

Ekkehard of Aura, Hierosolimite describes such events as occurred in 1096. He wrote his account between 1103 and 1106.

We are told of Foekmar, a priest who led a following of about 12,000 through Bohemia. When they came to Neitra, a town in Hungary, the people rose against them, took some of them prisoners and killed others.

There arose in those days a certain Knight named Emicho, a count from the Rhine region, who for a long time had been infamous

because of his manner of living. Like a second Saul (I. Sam. 10:9-13) he said that he had been called by divine revelation to engage in this sort of religious undertaking. He gathered about 12,000 crusaders, and while passing through the cities along the Rhine, Main and Danube, led by their zeal for Christianity they persecuted the hated race of the Jews wherever they found them.

Departure of the Knights of the Cross

It was months later before the mailed nobles and knights of Germany, France, England and Italy got under way. Preparation for the Crusade first of all involved the possession of ready money. Everyone who aspired to be a crusader must obtain equipment. Because of this many a noble fell hopelessly into debt and many peasants profited by the unexampled demand for cash to purchase their freedom from serfdom.

A singular economic phenomenon ensued. Money and movable property which could be used on the way were "high" while immovable and importable property, notably land, was "cheap".

The Crusaders Before Constantinople

The time came when the mailed knights got under way and eventually they arrived before the walls of Constantinople. When these western knights and nobles saw the greatness, wealth and beauty of Constantinople, their hearts were filled with greed and envy. Western Europe had no city like this for size and wealth and sumptuous palaces, churches, piazzas, streets and baths.

It nettled the Crusaders to think that such a capital was possessed by Schismatic Greeks, and they were not slow in manifesting their contempt for these, while the Greeks on the other hand, regarded the westerners as formidable but crude barbarians.

Foucher de Chartres describes the Crusaders encamped under the walls of the Greek capital in these words: "Our tents were set up within sight of the town and we rested during fourteen days from our fatigues. We could not go into the town. The Emperor would not allow it. He was afraid we should do some damage there. We were obliged to buy the necessities of life each day out-

side the walls. The inhabitants brought these provisions to us by order of the Emperor."

The French and the Byzantines did not trust one another. The latter were afraid of being plundered and ravaged, the former feared poison or betrayal and as it has already been stated, the western knights seemed gross brutal creatures to the subjects of Alexius, the Emperor, who in their turn were regarded by the Westerners as knaves and cowards.

Most enviously of all did Bohemond, the son of that redoubtable Robert Guiscard who had once planned to capture the city on the Golden Horn, regard the great capital. And indeed six years later Bohemond did make an ineffectual effort to accomplish his father's design. Such then was the condition of mind in which the Crusaders appeared before the walls of Constantinople.

Michaud's Description Of How Alexius Regretted His Appeal For Aid

Michaud, ("Histoire de la Premiere Croisade", page 31) wrote as follows: "Alexius who had called the Latins to his defense was dismayed at the number of his liberators. While the leaders of the Crusade were only princes of the second order, they led with them all the forces of the West. Anna Comnena compares the multitude of the crusading hosts to the sands of the sea-shore, to the stars of the firmament, and their innumerable bands to the torrents which unite themselves to form a great river. Alexius had learned to dread Bohemond on the plains of Durazzo and Larissa. Although he knew less about the courage and skill of the other Latin princes, he was beginning to repent having revealed to them the secret of his weakness in imploring their aid." (Ch. VI, page 31.)

Anna Comnena's Account: 1097 A. D.

In order to obtain an accurate picture of the Crusaders as they appeared to the Greeks of Constantinople let us turn to Anna Comnena's account of them which she wrote about the year 1097 A.D. She was the daughter of the Emperor Alexius I and a woman of

high literary culture. She wrote a history of the greatness and achievement of her father's reign. The princess Anna Comnena had a very low opinion of some of the Crusaders as will be readily seen from the following excerpt from the Alexaid which has been translated into English by Miss E. A. S. Dawes.

Anna Comnena's account of the Crusaders before Constantinople is to be found in the "Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Grecs," Volume I Pars Second, page 19. The following account commences with the Xth book of the Alexiad.

"But when the Emperor urged him (Godfrey de Bouillon) to cross the straits of the Propontis, he let one day pass after another . . . ; the truth was that he was awaiting the arrival of Bohemond and the rest of the counts. For although Peter undertook this great journey originally only to worship at the Holy Sepulcher, yet the rest of the counts and especially Bohemond, . . . who cherished an old grudge against the Emperor, were seeking an opportunity of taking their vengeance on him for that brilliant victory he had gained over Bohemond at Larissa . . ."

Continuing, Anna Comnena's account goes on to say that the other counts agreed to Bohemond's plan to dethrone the Emperor and capture the capital but the Emperor sent troops to compel them to cross the straits.

"Directly the Latins caught sight of them . . . they betook themselves to battle . . . As the Imperial troops fought very bravely, the Latins turned their backs.

"In consequence, Godfrey . . . went to the Emperor and swore the oath which was required of him, that whatever towns, countries or forts he managed to take which had formerly belonged to the Roman Empire, he would deliver up to the Governor expressly sent by the Emperor.

"After he had taken this oath, and received a large sum of money, he was invited to the Emperor's hearth and table, and feasted luxuriously and afterwards crossed the straits.

"(Then) came another innumerable heterogeneous crowd, collected from nearly all the Frankish countries, with their leaders, kings, dukes, counts and even bishops . . .

"I cannot detail the names of the leaders, for my speech is paralysed because I cannot articulate these strange names which are so unpronounceable, and partly because of the number of them.

"The Emperor sent for Bohemond and requested him to take the customary oath of the Latins. And he, mindful of his own position, namely, that he was not descended from illustrious ancestors, nor had a great supply of money, and for this reason not even many troops . . . and being by nature ready to swear falsely, yielded readily to the Emperor's wish . . .

"For by the nature the man was a rogue and ready for any eventuality; in roguery and courage he was far superior to all the Latins who came through then, as he was inferior to them in forces and money . . .

"The next day the Emperor summoned Bohemond and all the Counts. To them he discoursed of the things likely to befall them on their journey, and gave them useful advice; he also instructed them in the Turks' usual method of warfare.

"After he had in this way somewhat softened their savage behavior by dint of money and advice . . .he suggested their crossing into Asia.

"Insangeles (The Count of St. Gilles, Raymond of Toulouse) he liked especially because of his superior wisdom and genuine sincerity and purity of life . . . ; for he 'shone' amidst the Latins 'as the sun admist the stars of heaven' . . .

"He (Alexius) opened, so to say, the doors of his soul to him and enjoined him to be ever on the watch against Bohemond's wickedness . . .

"Isangeles replied to the Emperor, "Bohemond has acquired perjury and treachery as a species of ancestral heritage, and it would be a miracle if he kept his oath.

"'However, I will endeavor as far as in me lies always to carry out your orders . . .' And he went away to rejoin the whole Frankish Army."

The Crusaders Before Nicaea

Penetrating into Asia Minor, the Crusaders advanced as far

as the walls of Nicaea, the siege of which they began on the 15th of May 1097.

The different army corps were united there, and it may be that for some time they recognized the military authority of Bohemond, the Prince of Tarento.

As to the number of persons engaged in this expedition, Foucher de Chartres estimates the army of the Crusaders at 100,000 men-at-arms, without counting the servants, the archers, and the swarm of clerics, besides women and children: 600,000 souls came from the west would, according to the foregoing statement, be united in the Knights' Crusade.

When the town was taken on the 19th of June, 1097, it was occupied by the Greek troops. After this the French could grant themselves a little repose, by which they profited to renew their equipment. On the 27th of June they resumed their march eastward.

IV The Crusaders Before Antioch

The Crusaders crossed the Taurus and set out for Antioch by way of Cilicia. They had to cross burning plains. They were not clothed for such expeditions. Under an implacable sun, how their thick leather tunics plated with scales of brass weighed them down. They suffered severely from thirst, their horses perished along the route; at certain stopping places soldiers died in hundreds.

"By desert and roadless ways", writes Guibert on his side, "the Christians entered an uninhabited country, impracticable and devoid of water. They had no other resource to alleviate their sufferings than some cloves of garlic with which they rubbed their lips."

The Crusading army reached Antioch on the 20th day of October, 1097. In the town was a considerable garrison of Mohammedans. Antioch was defended by its natural position, by the Orontes, by its position on the side of the mountain, which its walls, reinforced by 450 towers, enclosed with a girdle stone. The French pitched their tents at a little distance from the ramparts and attacked the place furiously. They came very soon on both sides to acts of the greatest ferocity.

The siege dragged on. Where were provisions to be got in these wasted or desert countries? Some atrocious scenes are described with a singular vigour by Richard the Pilgrim and by Graindor of Douia.

"LA CHANSON D'ANTIOCHE" AND KING TAFUR: CHANT CINQUIEME. HORRIBLE FESTIN CONSEILLE PAR PIERRE L'HERMITE. (*RICHARD LE PELERIN*)

Peter the Hermit
sat before his tent,
To him came King Tafur,
and many of his people.
"Sir, counsel me,
for holy charity,
"For see we die of hunger
and wretchedness."

And Peter replied
"It is because of your cowardice.
Go take these Turks
who lie there dead.
They will be good to eat
If they are cooked and salted."
And says King Tafur:
"It is truth you say."

From the tent he turns away
to his ribalds calling:
The Turks they flayed
And their entrails removed,
And by boiling and roasting
They cooked their flesh.
Thus they ate
but tasted not bread.

By this were the Pagans
much affrighted.
For the scent of the flesh
reached the ramparts.

Twenty thousand Pagans
watched the ribalds.
There was no single Turk
who did not weep.

Then said they one to another
"This is better than bacon
or ham in oil."

The Lords of the army came to have a look at this terrible banquet. Robert Short Hose and Bohemond, Tancred and Godfrey de Bouillon.

Before King Tafur
Then each one stopped
Laughing they asked him:
"How do you feel?"

"By my faith," said the King
"I am much restored."
"If only I had wherewith to drink,
I have eaten enough."

Said the Duke of Bouillon
"Sir King, you shall have it."
Of his good wine
he gave him a bottle.

Such was the horrible counsel of Peter the Hermit and thus did King Tafur and his band of ribalds carry it out.

When they did not find any more dead Saracens in the fields they went and dug for them in the cemetery. These they flayed and dried in the sun.

(To Be Concluded)

INTER-AMERICAN DREAMS AND REALITIES

by

PHILIP LEONARD GREEN

FEW people who have heard or read of Simón Bolívar, especially of that part of his life which deals with the period after the winning of Spanish-American independence, fail to thrill at the amazing scope of his vision. His dream took in no less than a hemisphere. His vision was a concert of American nations, living and working in unison.

Others, like Bolívar, had the same dream. A century has passed since the founders of the American nations gave voice to their desire for closer cooperation among the peoples of the countries at whose birth they had been present.

Golden opportunities to translate this dream into reality have come and gone many times since then. Observers of inter-American relations who are not acquainted with the development of the nations on this hemisphere since their foundation, are confessedly mystified at the apparent gulf which even after more than a hundred years, exists between possibility and actuality.

The memory of Bolívar is revered today in many Latin American countries with a fervor unique in the annals of mankind. Around it has grown what might almost be termed a cult. His supreme contribution to the world, the vision of inter-American accord and cooperation, should therefore require no embellishment, much less apology, when referred to in speech or writing intended for the people of those countries. Yet our Pan American literature is full of such terms as "sincere Pan Americanism" and other apologetic qualifications, intended to set the Latin American mind at ease with regard to the preachments of the individual or group employing these terms.

If Pan Americanism has always been genuinely and sincerely practised by those who preach it, no white-washing qualifications should be necessary. The virtuous woman is not known to go about proclaiming her virtue, nor the honest man his honesty.

If, on the other hand, Pan Americanism has been all too often honored in the breach rather than in the keeping, we can begin to understand more easily why actual achievements in the field of promoting inter-American amity have fallen so far short of the possibilities.

Impartial students of inter-American affairs are agreed that, given the facilities which existed and the amount of time that has passed since the foundation of the American republics, much more should have been accomplished in the direction of drawing these republics more closely together.

True enough, in the earliest days, the American nations attained a degree of understanding previously unknown in the life of nations covering a similar expanse of territory. But serious setbacks came, through the territorial expansion of the United States on the one hand and disagreement among Latin American nations on the other. When a new impetus came on behalf of Pan Americanism, it was from Washington, capital of a country which had come to stand in the average Latin American mind as the classic example of imperialism. That this impetus came precisely at the height of an imperialistic impulse, made matters only worse. The first Pan American conferences sponsored by Washington were held just at the time when outlying areas were being brought under the flag of the United States or under United States influence. The result was an inevitable association of Pan Americanism with imperialism. As night follows day, the eclipse of the Pan American ideal, which in its Bolivarian purity means a *concert* of American nations, was not long in manifesting itself.

"The realization of continentalism could not be effected in spite of the existence of a ready apparatus in the form of official Pan Americanism, which has been active since the nineties," writes J. F. Normano in his "Struggle for South America."

Although the efforts of those directing this official Pan Amer-

icanism may quite often have been sincere, the path which was marked out for them by virtue of the limitations accompanying official activities in the very nature of things, has made it practically impossible for them to give to the Pan American movement that leadership which has assured the triumph of so many other historic movements.

Students of Pan American affairs differ widely as to whether official Pan Americanism could accomplish more if there were to emerge at its head, leaders of Bolívar's calibre or if a complete change in its direction and organization were to take place. Some feel that it is too late and that no changes that could now be made would clear official Pan Americanism of the onus that has fallen on it. Others believe that certain changes in the form and scope of Pan Americanism, especially coming at this time, when the United States is making efforts to practise the policy of the good neighbor, might cause a complete reversal in the trend of public opinion in Latin America, concerning official Pan Americanism.

Be that as it may and assuming that official Pan Americanism were to be brought to the highest possible level of accomplishment, would that assure inter-American understanding?

When we realize that there are upwards of two hundred millions of people in Latin America and the United States together, with radically different national backgrounds, we can readily understand the need for popular Pan American movements in each country of America if Pan Americanism is to mean anything. For after all, the ultimate solution of inter-American problems must be thought of in terms of *people.* Without a knowledge of the human factors underlying inter-American relations, we grope blindly, in our quest for a solution of these problems.

The great need, then, is for mutual interpretation of the cultural, economic and political life of each American nation to each of the others. This interpretation, while geared to an inter-American ideal, must be scientifically adapted to the special needs and psychological character of each country or region where it is carried on. For Pan Americanism will not progress as a popular movement where it cannot be incorporated naturally into the lives of men,

women and even children.

Is this just another dream? Maybe so, but it represents the absolute minimum requirement for the ultimate success of the Pan American movement.

There is no substitute for understanding. Lip-service to Bolívar will not bring about inter-American amity. Medals won't do it. And attempts to fill out by general good-fellowship and bufoonery at banquets, the gaps existing because of the lack of understanding, won't do it. Nor will all the money spent on expensive extraordinary diplomatic missions, engraved stationery, receptions and congresses.

We have tried almost everything else. Would it not seem reasonable at this time to try common sense? Especially we in the United States, a country which has so much to gain through the promotion of inter-American understanding and so much to lose if that understanding is not furthered to the fullest possible exent, should address ourselves with all the ingenuity and vast facilities for organization at our command, to the problem of making our national contribution toward inter-American amity one to be proud of.

There is much we can do. The surface has hardly been scratched. While many of our writers on South America record the wealth and trade possibilities which they have observed, few if any have explored the soul of the people inhabiting those countries. This of course, is due to the lack of facilities for acquiring knowledge regarding the backgrounds of Latin American peoples.

It is to the building up of these facilities that we must look for the first significant impetus to the progress of popular Pan Americanism. Existing educational channels and present techniques can be used wherever feasible; but new paths must also be opened and new methods devised, for we are dealing with a movement in the furtherance of which in many cases no precedents exist.

Much ground-work remains to be done before we can even begin to think of a popular Pan American movement even in this country.

The first need for such a movement would, of course, be an

adequately trained leadership. Means must be found for encouraging neophytes, as in every other great movement.

The other great need of the immediate present, is the development of adequate research facilities, to provide a factual background for the movement. This sounds unromantic, to be sure; but it is something that is a crying need in a field which today is characterized by an astounding lack of organized knowledge readily available even to the intensely interested, let alone to people in general. Sound opinions on inter-American questions, the firmest possible foundation for a virile Pan Americanism, cannot be built up on a diet of garbled impressions, even when these are served up in colorful fashion, as they so often are.

Fortunately, the movement for inter-American understanding is bound to come in for its share of interest in public questions, which has been one of the few encouraging products of the depression.

This, however, will only be true in the degree that the leaders of the Pan American movement, both official and private, can grasp the tremendous opportunities that the new age is throwing in their direction.

If they think of their work only from a professional angle, the movement will remain insignificant. If, on the other hand, they can see it as a great mission, very interesting developments can be expected within the next quarter of a century.

Naturally, as in every important movement, this one offers a wide latitude for self-seeking and even outright dishonesty; and there have not lacked individuals and groups to take advantage of that latitude. This dishonesty has taken a variety of forms and as the movement progresses and makes ingenuity in this direction more profitable, no doubt new varieties will be invented. Some "organizations" have been little more than letterheads—and bad ones at that. (One of these had the names of several Latin American countries mispelled). Other "groups" turned out to be individuals, collecting funds the destination of which was never ascertained except by the promoter. Those who have been so bold as to inquire about budgets, accounts and audits, have been derisively

dubbed as "academic."

Still other organizations are manned by people who are unprepared or conveniently spineless.

Of all these, naturally, nothing constructive can be expected. The most promising field for the recruiting of leaders in a work of this magnitude, would therefore seem to be the younger generation and particularly that part of the younger generation already active in promoting inter-American understanding through participation in the Pan American student movement.

Another source of strength for the movement should be the teachers of those subjects a knowledge of which would tend to promote appreciation of other American countries. While their interest may be to a degree selfish, in that the popularity of their subjects would be greatly enhanced by a strong Pan American movement, it cannot be said to be predominantly selfish. To a degree, this can be said also of authors, lecturers and writers in the field of inter-American relations, all of whom can contribute much to the better understanding of inter-American questions.

There are available today forces which, properly coordinated and utilized, can create conditions whereby the realities of Inter-Americanism may be more nearly patterned after its great dreams.

The third article by Mr. Green in a series on Inter-American relations.

WORLD ADVANCE

A Monthly International Review

by

OSCAR NEWFANG

Author of "The Road to World Peace," "The United States of the World," etc.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ADOPTS A FEDERAL PRINCIPLE

EDMUND BURKE, the eminent English statesman, once said that he did not know how to draw an indictment against a whole nation. Within the past year the League of Nations has on two separate occasions recognized the fact that crime is individual, that it is conceived in the brain of an individual or individuals, and that, instead of fixing the responsibility for the crime of a citizen or group of citizens of a nation upon the nation as a political entity,—instead of indicting a whole nation, ninety-nine per cent of whose population were probably not even aware of the plotting of the crime, much less were implicated in it,—the proper course is to find and bring to justice the individual or individuals who are guilty; or, better still, to provide in advance an international police force that will prevent the individual citizen or citizens from committing the crime.

The Difference Between the Sarajevo and the Marseilles Assassinations

Note the difference between Sarajevo in 1914 and Marseilles in 1934. When the crown prince of Austria-Hungary was assassinated in 1914, the Austria-Hungarian Government immediately held Serbia as a nation responsible for the act of a Serbian national and sent an ultimatum to the Serbian Government threatening to apply force against the whole of Serbia as a political entity. The result was the World War.

Under the Covenant of the League of Nations, strictly interpreted, the same procedure of holding a nation responsible for the act of any of its citizens was the only possible course to follow after the assassination of King Alexander of Jugoslavia. Under the Covenant nations deal with one another only as political entities, the act of a national is the act of his nation, and when a crime like this assassination occurs, the only process possible under the League Covenant is to indict a whole nation. This follows necessarily from the very nature of an alliance of governments, or a confederation, such as the League is at present. It is the fundamental principle of confederacy.

However, when the Jugoslavian Government claimed that the assassination of King Alexander was plotted on Hungarian soil and was made possible by the toleration of the plotters by Hungary, the League of Nations took a great step in advance in the preservation of international peace when, at the suggestion of France, it decided, instead of indicting the whole Hungarian nation, to request the government of Hungary to apply the ordinary processes of the courts to the punishment of those individual Hungarian citizens, whether private or official, whose guilt, implication or criminal negligence in the plot had been established. Force is to be applied, not to a whole political entity, not to the whole nation of which the criminal is a citizen, but to the individual citizen or citizens, whether private or official, who are guilty of the crime.

The application of force to a nation as a political entity is war: the application of force to an individual criminal or group of criminals is ordinary police and court action, the age-old method of preventing violence and maintaining peace. The former method is the principle of a confederation or league of governments: the latter method is the principle of a federation of peoples. In adopting the latter method in the case of the Jugoslavian assassination the League of Nations has made a distinct advance from the confederate principle to the federal principle, from the application of force by a group of confederated nations against another nation as a political entity to the application of individual arrest, trial and sentence of the particular citizen or citizens who are guilty of a

crime. It is an advance from the war method to the peace method. As a result of this adoption of a federal principle the peril of a war dangerously similar to that of 1914 has disappeared.

The International Police in the Saar

The second instance during the past year in which the League of Nations has adopted a federal principle is the establishment of an international police force to supervise the January plebiscite in the Saar region. Here was a situation full of dynamite. The danger of a clash between German and French forces which might easily have plunged Europe into a second catastrophe like that of the World War was ever present, and as the heat of the campaign rose and the date of the voting approached, the danger was constantly increasing. The Germans brought large numbers of the Saarlanders over to the Fatherland for military drill and preparation for any violence that might occur. The French placed their troops on the borders of the Saar region and asserted their determination to intervene with force, should the Germans use intimidation toward the voters in the plebiscite.

Under the Covenant, strictly interpreted, the League of Nations was powerless to do anything more than remind the two nations of their obligations as League members (for Germany is not yet out of the League), await any overt act of aggression in violation of their covenant, and then apply sanctions and force against the aggressor nation as a whole, as a political entity. Whether the allies of France would have placed their private alliances with that country above or below their prior obligations to the League of Nations as a whole, is a question that no man can answer. Whether Germany would have submitted to the authority of the League or have defied it, is likewise in the lap of the gods. Had the League been content to act only upon the confederate principle of state dealing with state as political entities, in accordance with its structure as a mere alliance of governments, the danger of war would have been immediate and immense.

Here again, however, the League took a great step in advance and applied a federal principle to the situation. It arranged for the

establishment of an international police force, whose function was not, to apply force to nations as a whole, but only to the individual or individuals, whether German, French or of any other nationality, who should commit crimes of intimidation or other violations in connection with the forthcoming plebiscite. The law, the court procedure and the sanctions are to be applied to individuals in the time-tested manner of ordinary police procedure. The crime of an individual or group of any nationality is not to be laid to the charge of that nation and the whole nation indicted for it. The federal method of handling interstate criminals has been adopted in place of the confederate method of dealing only with states as political entities and of considering the crime of a national as the crime of the entire nation.

As a result of the development of the League in this particular from the confederate to the federal principle of action the tension between Germany and France on this question has entirely disappeared and the danger of war over the issue has been completely dissipated. Forcible action against Germany or against France would very probably have meant war. Action, if found necessary, against an individual German or an individual Frenchman found guilty of intimidation in the election will be regarded as ordinary police and court procedure and will be considered a proper and legitimate method of preventing injustice and of maintaining peace.

The Formation of a Permanent and Efficient International Police

It is to be sincerely hoped that the complete success of the application in these two instances of the federal principle of action against the individual criminal in international crimes, in place of the confederate principle of indicting a whole nation and applying sanctions or military force against a whole nation as a political entity, will lead the League of Nations to give serious consideration to the formation of a permanent and efficient international police force, whose function would be to police the danger spots of the world, to prevent violence and war from breaking out, and to compel the submission of all international controversies to the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice or to the pro-

cesses of arbitration or conciliation outlined in the Covenant.

This is the road not only to world peace, but to real disarmament as well. By providing full security against attack to the members of the League an adequate international police force will afford the member states that real and tangible security without which it is not safe for them to disarm, but with which they would welcome release from the heavy and ever-growing burden of taxation for military establishments and war preparations.

This is the historical method by which disarmament has actually been achieved in past centuries. The burgher of the medieval town could not feel secure without his sword at his side until an adequate community police force was organized and in operation; but when such a police force gave him full security of life and property, he laid aside his sword and other armament. The medieval cities themselves could not feel secure without an army to protect themselves against possible aggression by the armed forces of other cities until a national police was organized with adequate forces to protect any city of the nation against attack by any other city; but when they had obtained the real and tangible protection of a national force, the disbanding of the city armies followed naturally as a measure of economy and as the dropping of a precaution that was no longer necessary for their safety.

From which it follows, that the practical method of achieving disarmament among the states members of the League of Nations consists in the formation of an international police force of adequate strength to give tangible and satisfactory security against attack to every member state, and thus to render the expense and the danger of large national military establishments no longer necessary for national safety. If the nations once feel that ample security against attack is provided by an international police force, disarmament will follow naturally because of the national economy to be achieved by abolishing an expensive protection which has become superfluous, like the individual city armies or the individual sword and coat of mail of the medieval knight.

Not only would the establishment of an international police force constitute a long step toward assured and lasting world peace,

and not only would it prove to be the most practical method of achieving disarmament; but the organization of such a force could be made gradually in such a manner that the corresponding gradual disarmament of the member states of the League would leave the relative strength of each nation unaltered in regard to every other member state. An arrangement by which a certain fixed percentage of each state's armament should, during each decade, be transferred to the control of the League of Nations would result in giving the League within two or three decades such a preponderance of force that no nation would dare to defy its decisions and go to war; but such an arrangement for arming the League and disarming the member states would evidently leave unaltered the relative strength of the member states with respect to one another. In regard to states outside the League the member states would find that, by reason of their ability to call upon the League forces for protection, their security against attack had been vastly increased, and that after a few decades it had in fact become absolute.

The Implications of an International Police Force

It is, of course, idle to deny that the adoption by the League of the federal principle of international police action against individual international criminals, in place of the confederate principle of indicting the whole nation of which the criminals are citizens, would necessitate the adoption of other federal principles in the structure and operation of the League of Nations.

The first question that would immediately arise, would be: who is to control this international police force? Would it be directed by the League Assembly in which each nation, great or small, has equal voice? Or would it be directed by the Council, in which the great powers have permanent representation, in which the smaller nations have only occasional representation? It is evident that the great powers, which would naturally have to furnish the greater part of the men and money necessary for the international police, would not agree to a control of that force in which the voice of a great power carried no more weight than that of the smallest and least populous of the League members. On the other hand, it

is also evident that the small states would not consent to the establishment of a powerful international police force in whose control they generally had no vote whatever.

It follows, therefore, that as the first implication of an international police force it would be necessary to adopt the federal principle in apportioning representation in the body controlling the force. This could be achieved either by the method of a second chamber, as is usual in federal structures, or by the ingenious arrangement suggested by Switzerland at the time of the organization of the League of Nations; namely, that each vote in the Assembly should be counted once as a unit and a second time be counted by allotting it a weight proportionate to the population represented by the voting delegate, a double majority being necessary for action.

A further implication of an international police force is, that it would be independent and unbiassed only if adequately financed directly by the League of Nations as a unit, independently of the member states, and not on the confederate principle now prevailing of an allocation of quotas to each member state and an application to the government of that state for the payment of its quota. Such independent financing of a League police could probably be organized most feasibly by constituting the entire League territory as a customs union and establishing a uniform tariff on imports into this customs area, all duties to be paid into the treasury of the League for the support of its international police and its other administrative expenses.

The establishment of such a customs union, with full freedom of commerce within the League area and a tariff around its borders, would be the most effective and compelling measure that the League could possibly take in order to induce the speedy entrance of such states as are still outside the League of Nations.

The final implication of an international police force is the establishment of compulsory jurisdiction by the World Court or some other agreed tribunal in all controversies between member states or between citizens of different member states.

THE GENEVA CONVENTION CONCERNING FORCED OR COMPULSORY LABOR

Fourteenth Circular, International Office for the Protection of Native Races (Colored Races)

The International League for the Protection of Native Races, an independent association whose members can claim the title of "friends of the Natives", has always endeavoured not only to improve Native welfare but also to act as a link between public opinion and the great international institutions of Geneva. The activity displayed by these organizations in favor of the Natives only reaches the public indirectly and too frequently neither commands public opinion nor receives legitimate encouragement. Nevertheless, fundamental changes are being effected in the relations between the white and colored races and the tendency of these changes is to put right the iniquities which have been committed in the past. Such changes should not remain unnoticed or allowed to be fossilised in the conventions. They should be comprehended by the whole of humanity which in spirit should participate in them. They require the warm encouragement and assistance of the public. They should be accepted by universal public opinion.

In consequence the International League for the Protection of Native Races considers it to be its fundamental task to act as herald of these new ideas by informing its friends of the intentions of the great Geneva institutions and of the results obtained by them. The object of the present circular is to explain the

Geneva Convention concerning Forced or Compulsory Labor

and to show what has been done by the International Labor Office for the protection of Native workers.

The Forced Labor Convention was adopted by the 1930 Session of the International Labor Conference and it came into force on 1 May 1932. Since that date it has been widely applied both in the

Religion

colonies of countries which have ratified it and in those of countries which have not yet accepted it officially. Among the States which have ratified the Convention are Australia, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Liberia, the Netherlands and Spain, together with the following countries which, although they have no colonial possessions, and may not be directly affected by the provisions of the Convention, have given their moral support to it: Bulgaria, Chile, Denmark, Irish Free State, Mexico, Nicaragua, Norway, Sweden and Yugoslavia.

It is to be noted that there are three important colonial powers absent from this list, France, Belgium and Portugal. As will be seen, however, from the following paragraphs, the situation in the Colonies of these Powers appears to have evolved under the influence of the discussions of forced labor at Geneva.

In France a Decree for the regularization of public compulsory labor was promulgated in 1930. This Decree defines the attitude of the French Government in regard to compulsory labor and declares that the purpose in mind is gradually to secure its abolition. On many points the Decree, as well as the regulations promulgated thereunder in various colonies, is in agreement with the terms of the Convention.

In Belgium the whole economic and social system on which the administration of the Congo was based has been the subject of sincere scientific investigations. A Delegation of the Native Labor Committee which visited the Congo in 1931 proposed, among other reforms, certain prudent reservations in the application of the system of compulsory cultivation. In July 1933, the King of the Belgians, who was then Duke of Brabant, made an important declaration to the effect that compulsory labor would become unnecessary and that its problems would recede to the past once the Natives saw that work was profitable to them, was remunerated in proportion to their efforts and that they were treated with justice. Following this statement the Minister for the Colonies made it known that in future no compulsory labor would be permitted in the Congo.

In Portugal, after the first international discussions on the problems, important changes were effected in existing legislation

by the 1928 Native Labor Code and by the 1930 Colonial Charter. The latter law declared that, apart from the carrying out of penal sentences or fiscal obligations, the State will not compel the Natives to work except in the case of works which are regarded as essential and profitable to them. This declaration has a close analogy with the principles of the Convention.

After this short summary it will be of value to consider the actual terms of the Convention. At first sight friends of the Natives will perhaps experience a certain disappointment. Article 1 of the Convention states that:

Each Member of the International Labor Organization which ratifies this Convention undertakes to suppress the use of forced or compulsory labor in all its forms within the shortest possible period.

This Article, however, is followed by 32 other Articles which regulate in detail this inhuman form of labor. Thus the Convention does not provide for the immediate or complete abolition of forced labor. Paragraph 2 of Article 1 explains the character of the Convention by stating that:

With a view to this complete suppression, recourse to forced or compulsory labor may be had, during the transitional period, for public purposes only and as an exceptional measure, subject to the conditions and guarantees hereinafter provided.

The effect of the Convention is thus that in the territories administered by the ratifying States forced or compulsory labor is, pending its complete abolition, *limited* by international agreement to *public services* and subjected to prescribed conditions. Forced labor is only permitted when it has been proved impossible to obtain voluntary labor by the offer of wages and conditions of labor corresponding to those prevailing in the area concerned. In addition, any forced labor which is imposed for such public purposes is required to be remunerated at the same rates as free labor in the territories and is subject to the conditions stipulated in the following Articles of the Convention which are mentioned below. In regard to complete abolition of forced labor, paragraph 3 of Article 1 provides that:

At the expiration of a period of five years after the coming into force of this Convention . . . the Governing Body (of the international Labor Office) shall consider the possibility of the suppression of forced or compulsory labor in all its forms without a further transitional period and the desirability of placing this question on the Agenda of the Conference.

In accordance with Article 421 of the Peace Treaty, the Convention leaves the ratifying States free not to apply the Convention in territories where they consider its provisions to be inapplicable owing to the local conditions, or to apply there provisions only subject to modifications to adapt the Convention to local conditions. This latitude is allowed by Article 26 of the Convention which, after providing that it shall be applied by Member States in the territories placed under their sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty, tutelage or authority, further states that each Member which wishes to take advantage of the provisions of Article 421: shall append to its ratification a declaration stating:

1. the territories to which it intends to apply the provisions of this Convention without modification;
2. the territories to which it intends to apply the provisions of this Convention with modifications, together with details of the said modifications;
3. the territories in respect of which it reserves its decision.

This might mean serious restriction in the application of the Convention. It shows how distant as yet is the practical realization of the ideal pursued by humanitarians, *the complete and immediate abolition of servitude.* The Article might enable a colonial power which had ratified the Convention to modify very considerably the application of its provisions, though in practice the States which have ratified have made but moderate use of these possibilities. It is greatly to be hoped that after the expiration of the first period of five years from the coming into force of the Convention the International Labor Conference will proceed to the total or partial revision of the Convention which is provided for in Article 31, and will find means of limiting the application of Article 421 of the Peace Treaty in the use of this special colonial Convention.

Too frequently the conviction is to be found among colonists that the black man by his own natural idleness and by the absence of any need of gain will not undertake free labor. Such colonists refuse to see that Native labor is the foundation of colonial wealth. Without it all development is illusory. It is time for the moral and material conditions of the Native labor to be improved, and for labor to be protected *in all colonies without restriction.*

The other provisions of the Convention appear to accord with high moral ideals. They reflect a thorough study of the question and constitute a praiseworthy effort for the abolition of this iniquitous form of labor.

Article 2 defines forced or compulsory labor as:

all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily.

The definition excludes, however, five classes: *a*) compulsory military service; *b*) any work which forms part of the normal civic obligations of the citizens of a fully self-governed country; *c*) labor exacted as a consequence of a conviction in a court of law; *d*) emergency labor; *e*) minor village services.

By subsequent Articles, forced labor imposed as a tax or by chiefs, forced labor for public purposes, for porterage or for compulsory cultivation is to be progressively abolished, while it is totally prohibited for work underground in mines.

Articles 11 to 17 of the Convention lay down the measures to be taken for the protection of the workers. In particular they limit forced labor by sex (male), by age (between 18 and 45 years of age) and by the maximum period which may be imposed on any individual (60 days a year). They also regulate the normal hours of work, payment, workmen's compensation for accidents or diseases, transport and health conditions.

If the States which adopted this Convention accept its provisions without reservation a great step will have been accomplished towards the evolution of the free Native worker. Above all, however, it is to be hoped that the Convention will contribute to a change in the outlook of colonists, that it will encourage them to

establish with the Natives a relationship based on mutual confidence. When the Native understands that he is treated with justice and that his industry is duly rewarded he will see that it is in his own interests for him to go out to work and compulsion will no longer be necessary. It is accordingly to be hoped that the efforts of the International Labor Office will be crowned with success and that after the expiration of the transitional period of five years it will be possible to effect the complete abolition of forced labor which should disappear as well as slavery.

The International Labor Office has another great task on hand, the regulation of the recruiting of Native workers. This question is on the Agenda of the 1935 Session of the International Labor Conference. The satisfactory regulation of methods for the recruiting of labor will go far towards eliminating the element of compulsion in the employment of contract labor. It is essential that all these efforts to increase and guarantee the liberty of labor shall be supported by the approval of pubic opinion[1].

F.-O. HEFTY, *President.*
Ed.-J. JUNOD, *Secretary.*
Louis ROLLI, *Treasurer.*

1The *Official Bulletin of the I. L. O.* of 15 July 1930 (Supplement to Vol. XV, No. 2) contains the text of the Geneva Convention concerning forced or compulsory labor.

GROUP THINKING ON THE CRISIS

An Experiment in Adult Education

by

F. HARVEY MORSE

Religious Work Council, West Side Y.M.C.A., New York

TO a large extent the crisis situation has been very much like that of the weather. "Everyone complains about it," Mark Twain was reported to have remarked, "but no one *does* anything about it."

But fortunately, at least a few here and there *are* trying to do something about it—in a constructive fashion. Leaders in religious work at the West Side Y.M.C.A. in New York, for example, had a rather definite idea that sound thinking about crisis problems spread widely enough, could stimulate public opinion sufficiently that definite steps toward social planning to make a recurrence of present conditions less likely, would be taken by the nation's political leaders.

West Side had had forums galore. There were world problems forums, vocational forums, friendly religious forums, sex relation forums, world religion forums. These meetings drew sizeable crowds to listen to the lecturers—and almost always they were worth listening to—to ask questions, and then to go home with a feeling of vicarious satisfaction. They were traditional meetings of the type.

But the Religious Work Committee, headed by J. E. Nystrom, Director, felt that more was needed—that to be effective in leading toward better social planning, there must be at least a start toward more serious thinking—with the idea that group thinking leaders might be trained to multiply the work by organizing other groups in their own neighborhoods. The practical opportunity to experiment with such a group came in 1932—with the return to America

of Frank E. Walser, formerly inspector for the Egyptian Department of Education in Cairo. Mr. Walser had organized such a group in Paris and led it for a number of months.

Three aims were set for the series (originally planned for nine weeks, but which has already extended into nearly a year):

1. To help attendants improve in ability to think soundly on social-economic problems;
2. To train in the process of group thinking;
3. To train a number of individuals in the chairmanship of thinking groups.

The general topic "The Crisis", was narrowed somewhat by the question, "Can adequate social planning to eliminate the problems of the crisis and to prevent their recurrence, be achieved in America through cooperative means and the recent basic political set-up—or must there be a violent revolution similar to that of Russia?"

The technique of group thinking has been so helpfully put between book covers by pioneers such as Elliot and Sheffield, that little need be said about it here—except perhaps merely to list some of the elementary points that were emphasized constantly during the weeks the group has been meeting. First, take the

Fundamentals of Group Thinking

1. Members should be prepared—through reading.
2. The object of the discussion is not so much to convince the man or woman who differs from you as to contribute to them some fact or to clarify some misconception—to make available to every individual in the group the combined constructive thought of the entire group.
3. Stick to the point being discussed.
4. Speak concisely and clearly; you're not present to make speeches, but to contribute thought and receive ideas.
5. Listen with a receptive and open mind, and be on guard against your own prejudices.
6. Don't talk too much—give the other fellow a chance.

Then there were emphasised these

Suggestions to Chairmen

1. The chairman is a leader—not a teacher.
2. The chairman should keep discussion to the point.
3. The chairman should not permit any one or two members to monopolize discussion.
4. The chairman should do very little talking; let him lead the group to express itself.
5. Certainly, the chairman should not feel bound to reply to every member who expresses an opinion contrary to his own—he can safely trust his group to answer.
6. In case of vague statements made by any member, the chairman should restate to clarify the point.
7. As discussion progresses, the chairman should summarize conclusions reached or major opinions expressed.
8. Once the group has reached a conclusion on a point, the chairman should stop discussion and lead to the next logical point.
9. The chairman should try to lead the more timid members to express themselves.
10. The chairman should understand the value of occasional silent pauses. Let the group start the session with a moment of silence—to permit members to organize their thinking and give slower thinkers opportunity to think before the quick thinkers suggest the major ideas. If discussion becomes heated, it would be well for the chairman to suggest a moment of pause for reflection.
11. Occasionally, if the chairman has specialized knowledge on a point which no other member of the group seems to have, he may throw his idea into the discussion. In general, however, the chairman should handle the discussion objectively, detaching himself very largely from his own definitely formed opinions.

Practically all the discussion topics grew out of the thinking of the group. This list of topics follows—with some of the conclusions of the groups.

Can We Achieve A More Satisfactory Social Order Through Peaceful Cooperative Means, Or Must We Put Our Hope In Force—In Revolution?

a. The basic worth of man should be our guiding principle.
b. Group believes in some competition to encourage initiative.
c. Desires to achieve social satisfaction by cooperation.
d. Fear that *some* violence may be inevitable.

Should Tariffs Be Gradually Eliminated?

a. Some doubt that tariffs are form of force; liken them to police force.
b. Most of group seemed to feel that tariffs should be gradually eliminated—but no faster than world adjustments can be made.

Profits and Distribution

a. Industry must be for use and for all, not for profits for a few.
b. Profits, high salaries and interest on capital must be severely limited.
c. There is no excess production in most industries, but underconsumption resulting from the present profit system.

Is Effective Social Planning Possible Under a Democracy?

Yes, social planning IS possible under a democracy—provided we educate people to take greater interest in government affairs. There already IS *some* social planning. Through education, public opinion could be aroused to the point of forcing representatives to establish a plan. A nation-wide network of small discussion groups, linked up by radio broadcasting, could best and quickest achieve this sort of education.

How Can We Develop Education In Support of Economic Planning?

a. Education needs changing and improving to lead people to thoughtful participation in economic planning.
b. The most nearly perfect development of the individual should be the aim of education and of planning.

c. Group thinking (such as these meetings) on a national scale and under non-partisan leadership is an essential part of adult education, and is most likely to begin and spread outside of the traditional school systems.

Is Religion an Educational Factor in Support of Economic Planning?

a. Religion (not necessarily present ecclesiastical structures) is fundamental in any program of social betterment.
b. The churches, in which are organized a vast number of those with high ideals, could be of use in educating toward social planning, *e.g.*, group thinking in men's and women's classes, forums, etc.

How Can We Get Some Religious Drive In Support of Social Planning Into Public Opinion?

a. Church religion as today constituted tends as much to social division as to social unity.
b. Insincerity in application of religion to daily life and refusal to face our actual social, economic and international problems in the spirit of the great religious teachers of all ages is the cause of above.
c. Considerable number urge closer federation of churches, better cooperation to prevent overlapping of effort, and actual union in many small-town and rural sections.

Obviously, some of the conclusions reached are superficial. Further study and investigation would probably result in more fundamental findings. Again, other groups differently constituted, might have reached entirely different conclusions on many points.

Logically, the thinking of a group such as this should work itself out in action. So far the actual projects have been limited, partially because this is not yet a fully cohesive group, and also because it was planned largely to be a training school to spread the efforts of members along further group discussion lines.

But there are additional quite tangible results that have come from these meetings. There has been a tremendous improvement in discussion technique. Men once inclined to be dogmatic and

hide-bound in their opinions are not quite so sure that those who differ from them may be more nearly right than they are. They listen to differing view-points with greater courtesy and discuss them with vastly more tolerance that was the case six months ago. After all, in the opinion of the leaders, it is this very willingness to modify thought, disseminated through myriads of similar groups throughout the country that will bring about that enlightened public opinion that will make more adequate social planning possible.

There has also been a more remarkable development in the art of leadership on the part of those acting as chairmen of the discussion units. The technique employed has proved most effective in impressing fundamental principles of leadership. If one has acted as chairman and has experienced personally some of the many problems that must be faced he is more likely to accept in good spirit constructive suggestions and to realize their soundness.

Suggestive of some of the values of these meetings are these excerpts from statements made to the Religious Work Council:

> "These sessions have taught me constructive, concentrated, logical thinking and have given me a consciousness of social responsibility."
>
> "I was thoroughly capitalistic when I came here—but have modified many of my ideas."
>
> "I realized that we are going through a strategic period and felt at a loss to know what could be done about it—so when these meetings were announced, I came. They've stimulated my interest and moved me to do more reading so as to be better informed on crisis problems. It's very helpful to get the viewpoint of others."
>
> "These meetings have made me more tolerant of the other fellow's viewpoint."
>
> "At the beginning I was interested in getting over my point—even though it meant hitting the other fellow over the head. Now I have more of a tendency to try to get the other person's point of view. From the standpoint of social cooperation alone, the sessions have been worth while."

"The greatest value I see, is from the personal side. There's Mr. — — —. When I first came here, I thought he was the most stubborn fellow I ever saw. Now I admire him for his ideas."

"I have enjoyed the contact of different minds. It has been fascinating to watch personality develop in these meetings."

"I've noticed many strangers come in from curiosity. As they sit back and listen, I notice a new interest. Before long they're enthusiastic about the attempt to think through to social justice."

"One of the greatest values is that you get excellent practice in expressing yourself."

Naturally, there have also been weaknesses in this program. Although planned on the basis of the broadest democracy the group conduct revealed many of democracy's inherent weaknesses. The discussion of each topic to be used the following week frequently reached proportions as great as that of the evening's major topic itself.

From the leaders' standpoints this democratic plan did, however, reveal prejudices to them which were to some extent masked in the set discussions. For instance, when it was suggested that the groups discuss the part that religion and the churches might play in stimulating public opinion, these prejudicial viewpoints quickly expressed themselves—"religion should not concern itself with political, social, and economic problems", "the discussion of churches is apt to hurt feelings" (imagine that in a group of supposedly serious-minded social planners!), "the churches are impotent anyway"; etc. Similarly, when it was suggested that we discuss whether Soviet Russia had accomplished anything that might be adapted to American social planning, the objections opined that patriotic Americans should not even discuss Communism!

Another limitation was that through group selection of topics it frequently happened that the subject chosen was not sufficiently comprehensive—in spite of the efforts of the leaders to definitize it, and to interpret it so that all discussion units would be thinking

along similar basic lines. This objective, too, can be overcome by the committee selection of topics. Incidentally, such selection would have the added merit of saving time in each meeting itself.

The fact that the membership of the group changed from week to week brought up other problems. About 50 per cent of the attendants each week were "regulars"; the other 50 per cent, new people some of whom continued as regulars and others whose interest was transitory—those who apparently preferred the spell binding lecturer to the relatively difficult work of thinking. In the discussion the first and second time attendants were prone to bring up points on which the group had already reached conclusions several weeks previously. The chairmen were forced to spend considerable time in explaining what certain points had already been considered. They had to be somewhat despotic in their rulings to permit the group as a whole to progress. This problem was partially overcome by putting the conclusions in mimeographed form and making them available to new attendants. This problem might also be solved by a brief summary made by the general chairman at the beginning of the session, but clearly that might become a sizeable task after the group had carried on for 12 or 15 weeks.

Were the writer to start a new group of this sort he would at the first session give several public opinion tests such as the Watson Fairmindedness (Teachers College, Columbia U.). These tests would reveal certain attitudes which should be helpful in topic planning. After the group had discussed their problems for ten or fifteen weeks he would give some additional check tests. It would be possible in this way to secure some very valuable data as to the effectiveness of the group thinking in modifying prejudices.

THE WAY OUT*

V.

Covenant of the League of Nations. The Coming Struggle for Power, by John Strachey. Victor Gollancz, London.

The Covenant of the League of Nations, obviously, is not subject to review under the same conditions as the other titles listed in the World Unity Questionnaire. Since it has been included in the list, however, an effort will be made to present it as a possible solution of the world's problems.

The Covenant by itself is an abstract legal instrument—a constitution. In its context, however, it is more than a document—it is an important fact in human history.

As a constitution, the League has certain definite characteristics: first, it forms a society or association of existing nations and not a new political sovereignty; second, it divides the participating states into two groups, one deliberative, the other executive; third, it provides for auxiliary institutions, such as the International Labor Bureau and the Institute of International Intellectual Cooperation; fourth, it constitutes the basis on which is administered the Versailles Treaty; and fifth, it appoints the members of the World Court.

No useful discussion of the Covenant can overlook any one of these vital factors. For example, its connection with the Versailles Treaty has bound the League to the past more than to the future, and compels it to assume not merely the responsibility of peace but the overwhelming burden of the greatest of wars. This inescapable responsibility imposed upon the League at its birth means that its Council, under the rule of unanimity, can only take such measures as are permitted by the largest powers, the very powers most grievously involved in the results of the war and most highly competitive

*A summary of the various principles of world development advanced in the books listed in the replies received by *World Unity Questionnaire on Peace* to the question: What book written since 1918 most clearly shows the way out from the prevalent international problems?

economically in time of peace. This means that in any crisis affecting the great powers, decisive action is wellnigh impossible. Each national representative remains committed to his own separate political sovereignty; none can be wholly loyal to the realities affecting the situation as a whole.

One might make the comment that the League, historically, represents the limit to which nations will go under fear; it does not represent the limits of cooperation and of justice. It is the Half Way House between Peace and War.

John Strachey has become in all probability the most eloquent and actively intelligent exponent of the scheme of Communism writing in the English language. His book has tremendous interest and even excitement. It contains brilliant passages lit with the inner fire of intuition. Granting his major premise—that modern history is an inevitable movement toward Communism—the chapters unfold a very Apocolypse of spiritually inverted truth. The work, in fact, emanates from a theological rather than a sociological mind. "Even if we admit that capitalism is on the way to world monopoly and so to peace, yet the whole condition of the world assures us that the road it has taken does not lead through gentle mergings of trusts and scientific federations of nations. On the contrary, if it leads to the peace of world monopoly at all, it does so by a series of the most gigantic and devastating wars between the great monopolist groups, and the nations which they own. It leads only to a desert peace, established by some victor empire after the last supreme war of the world. Thus, and thus alone, could capitalist peace be established upon the earth . . . Communism does not offer itself to mankind as a sort of painless and patent cure for all the ills of the universe. The essential argument in its favor is rather that it is the one method by which human civilization can be maintained at all . . . The assumption of power by the workers can occur by means of revolution alone; by means, that is, of an event which takes place over a limited number of years, and of which there may be a critical moment, such as the conquest of the existing State apparatus in a capital city."

H. H.

BOOK NOTES

Religion and the American Dream, by Raymond C. Knox, Columbia University, 1934. 155 *pp.* $1.75.

Chaplain Knox, inspired by study abroad on the relationships of religion and higher education, in this volume has turned his fertile mind to the larger task of dealing with the relationships of religion and the modern social order. It is his conviction that only as a new vision of society based upon a sincere faith in the worth of personality, fellowship, and a spiritual quality of life is developed can the benefits of civilization touch broader and deeper horizons. The major part of the work is devoted to the problem of attaining this spiritual communion within the shelter of the American tradition. In the last chapter he deals with the religious spirit as it can influence the chaotic state of international affairs. He presents as the sole hope for the peaceful remaking of the world a widespread acceptance of a spiritual culture which can transcend the geographic, economic, and political barriers which nation erects against nation and yet which still can provide for the cultivation of national sentiment and purpose. Chaplain Knox writes from the standpoint of a Christian liberal and has contributed a worthy volume.

PAUL RUSSELL ANDERSON

International Law as a Substitute for Diplomacy, by Marcellus Donald Redlich, Independent Publishing Company, 1928. 208 *pp.*

Mr. Redlich makes a point in this book which is increasingly being emphasized, namely, the importance of the extension of international law as a substitute for diplomacy in settling disputes between nations. In the last chapter he deals with the present media of international justice such as the World Court and the League of

Nations and hopes for their extension as the only means of preserving peace; even the League, he feels, is too strongly guided by diplomats rather than jurists. Mr. Redlich's case is none too strongly presented. Led by the interests of his own career he deals at length with diplomacy, its history and development rather than upon the problems involved in the development of impartial tribunals for international justice. As such it has much good material; as a case for international law, it lacks force.

PAUL RUSSELL ANDERSON

The Jews and a Changing Civilization, by Norman Bentwich, John Lane, The Bodley Head, Ltd., London, 1934. 146 *pp.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.*

Norman Bentwich is eminently qualified to write on the Jews, for his own heritage is Jewish and he has been intimately associated with Jewish movements in general and with the rehabilitation of Palestine in particular. He writes lucidly of the history of the Jews, their distribution, their religious heritage, recent literary and political anti-semitism, and recent Jewish contributions to civilization. The early chapters lead up to the author's conclusion that the repeopling of Palestine with Jews offers the only reasonable future for Hebraism, since assimilation has only increased the number of people subject to oppression (example,—Germany) and has never permitted the full fruition of Hebrew life and culture. He lauds recent developments in Palestine and looks to the continuation of this policy to permit a flowering of Hebrew culture. He lightly passes over Arab opposition in Palestine and the inherent nationalism which such a policy cannot help but develop. These two forces present difficult obstacles for what Mr. Bentwich thinks is essential. The book merits attention.

PAUL RUSSELL ANDERSON

The Conscription of Conscience, by Lowell Harris Coate. The Stonehurst Press, Los Angeles, 1934. *pp.* 127. $1.00 *clothbound,* $.50 *paper cover.*

Mr. Coate through this book appeals to the younger generation to ally itself with movements leading to the abolition of war and to fight relentlessly for the freedom of individual conscience in the

problem of participation in war. The author deals with the Macintosh and Baldwin cases as examples of where the courts judged against conscience. Decisions of this type he feels to be unjudical in the light of the signing of the Pact of Paris outlawing war. His case for conscience finally rests on its legal status rather than on its moral demands. The materials with which Mr. Coate deals are mostly familiar; the cause he espouses is gaining adherents constantly, as the last chapter points out.

PAUL RUSSELL ANDERSON

Protestant Home Missions to Catholic Immigrants. By Theodore Abel. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933. *Pp. xi,* 143. $1.00. *Church Union in Canada. Its Causes and Consequences. By Claris Edwin Silcox. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research.* 1933. *Pp. xvii,* 493. $3.00. *Standards and Trends in Religious Education. By Hugh Hartshorne, Helen R. Stearns, and Williard E. Uphaus. Yale University Press,* 1933 *Pp. xv,* 230. $2.00.

We are grouping these volumes under one heading because all of them have been prepared under the auspices of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, which, since its organization in January, 1921, as an independent agency to apply scientific methods to the study of socio-religious phenomena, has been preparing a series of excellent studies mainly in the field of religious and immigrant conflicts. The first volume reviewed here is probably one of the most interesting because of its subject. The conclusions of the author as regards home missionary work are not so severe as those arrived at by the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry. But as an impartial study of the purpose, nature, scope, and results of Protestant home-mission work among immigrants of Catholic origins—principally Italians, Mexicans, Czechs, Hungarians and Poles—it is most valuable at the present time. In the author's own words, "many ecclesiastical leaders, as well as many laymen, have in recent years been raising again the question of the wisdom and legitimacy of this entire realm of effort." Let us notice, among other conclusions, that "only a radical change in prevailing attitudes among

Catholic immigrants can give to it greater vitality," and that the retrenchment can proceed and yet preserve the accomplishments of the work "by increased cooperation of denominations, leading to the federation of churches and the unification of support."

Silcox' volume records the slow struggle of three denominations of Canada toward union, describing vividly the passions aroused, and the obstacles encountered and overcome. This is one of the most dramatic stories in the recent history of Protestantism, written by a Canadian who devoted three years to his task. On the whole, the author admirably demonstrates his gift for description and his honesty toward his characters and the story he evaluates.

The last volume is invaluable not only to persons contributing to the promotion of religious education, but also to those actively engaged in such efforts. The first half of the volume reveals what Sunday schools are actually doing on the basis of a representative sample of 746 schools; the achievements are contrasted with existing standards. The second part describes how the religious needs of college students are now being cared for. A wealth of fresh material is treated, dealing with the growth of departments of religion, the status of campus activities directly under the control of colleges, and the type of work done in schools of religion and religious foundations, and by student pastors. The very fact that both denominational colleges and tax-supported institutions are included shows the value of such a report.

Because religion is one of the greatest emotional obstacles, from one viewpoint, to world understanding and cooperation, and because these three volumes contribute much to our comprehension of this problem, we recommend them most heartily to our readers.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

John Eugene Harley, Documentary Textbook on International Relations. Los Angeles, California: Suttonhouse, 1934. *Pp. xxvii,* 848. $6.00.

Professor Harley, Department of Political Science, University of Southern California, and author of two other well-known volumes on international relations, has divided his book into five major

parts, dealing with international organization and cooperation, the pacific settlement of international disputes, the renunciation of war, the limitation and reduction of armaments, and finally, some selected bibliographies. As Professor Charles E. Martin points out in the introduction, "this is a documentary textbook on international relations, and as such, blazes a new trail in the forest of educational theory and practice." In addition to the documents included, the most valuable parts are those prepared by the author with the purpose to interpret the meaning or the significance of the documents published, with the economic, political and social background which explains them. But there are unusual omissions in the selection. We find nothing, for example, pertaining to the problem of minorities. But, all in all, Dr. Harley has successfully produced a convenient source-book and handy reference work. The prospect of its wide adoption for college use lends this work a certain importance.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

NOTES ON THE CURRENT ISSUE

With sound judgment, Oscar Newfang in his current contribution marks what is most significant in the current experience of the League of Nations—its assumption of the status of a true world state with respect to two problems which twenty years ago might have led to war. The argument upholding a world federation begins to have reinforcement in history itself.

The World Federation Committee of World Unity Foundation has adopted the following statement of purpose, which it is hoped will prove acceptable to and be endorsed by societies and organizations as well as by representative individuals:

"World Federation Committee, believing that the firm establishment of international justice and world peace would be promoted by the development of the League of Nations into a Federation of Nations with a structure similar to the federal structure of Switzerland, Australia, Canada, the United States and other federal unions, exists for the purpose of urging the assembly of the League of Nations to appoint a committee of competent statesmen to consider and report upon the best method of developing the League

"1. by providing a fairer basis of representation in the Assembly and giving that body authority to legislate finally within a strictly limited field of international relations;

"2. by giving the Permanent Court of International Justice original and final jurisdiction in all controversies between member states or citizens of different member states;

"3. by making the Council an executive cabinet and providing it with an international police force adequate to compel submission of all such controversies to the Court and to enforce the Court's decisions;

"4. by enabling the Federation to finance its needs independently of the governments of the member states."

No doubt many readers have noticed the remarkable statement by H. G. Wells in *Liberty* (December 29,1934) entitled "How To Bring Peace on Earth." In scope and in emphasis, the article is altogether admirable. Mr. Wells staunchly advocates the federal principle.

Next month the World Federation Committee proposes to publish in *World Unity* a "Manifesto" in which its proposal is given clear and definite form.

The publication of John W. Kitching's series on "The Crusades Viewed Through Eastern Eyes" represents an exception to the editorial principle of *World Unity* under which material of historical character, without direct impact upon present problems, has been excluded. In this case it was felt that the author had made a valuable contribution to the cause of unity between East and West.

World Unity suggests to all readers impressed by Mr. Green's articles a program deserving public attention: that the American peoples combine to impress upon their respective statesmen the vital necessity of adopting a common "American" policy of absolute neutrality in any and every war originating upon European soil. A European War should be regarded as Europe's destiny and not the affair of all mankind. Should another war come, humanity will need one area of neutral civilization in which to conserve its forces for the future. As Mr. Green points out, Inter-Americanism must combine popular feeling with formal state action. The proposed program offers a sound basis upon which to establish true sympathy and solidarity of feeling.

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